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THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
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Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project

BY C. P. LOOMIS AND O. E. LEONARD

SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. XIV

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In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time, include:

I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.

II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.

III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.

IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.

V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.

VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.

VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.

VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick.

IX. Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick.

X. Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.

XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.

XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)

XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.

XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.

XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.

XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.

XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.

XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities by C. P. Loomis.

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FOREWORD

In this report appear level-of-living studies of two very dissimilar types of communities. It is because the communities are so dissimilar that the analyses of them are presented under one cover. One of them is the study of 37 families living in a Mexican village made up of families who are a part of a culture that has been in existence for probably a thousand years. The other is a study of 65 families living in a community established a little less than a decade ago on a Reclamation project, the families having come from various geographic sections of the Nation, each family carrying with it the habits, attitudes, and customs of its old location. This particular study has to do largely with the material elements in the family levels of living in the two communities, although some description is given of the non-material elements in their level of living as necessary orientations to the obvious differences in the two communities.

The reader may wonder why no description is given concerning the cultural background of the Tule Lake community similar to the one given of Tortugas in chapter I of the study. The answer to such a query is that the highly rationalized and planned development of the Reclamation community, Tule Lake, precluded the possibility of such an old cultural background as existed in the case of Tortugas; automatically, therefore, it precluded the possibility of a description of such a background. The analysis of the Tortugas community, on the other hand, would be incomplete and the empirical data probably misinterpreted unless a description of the cultural background were included.

Two other studies in this series will deal with other aspects of the life of these two communities. One is "Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California." The other is "Social Relationships and Institutions in Three Established Rural Communities."

CARL C. TAYLOR

In Charge, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; and Social Research Section, Farm Security Administration.

STANDARDS OF LIVING IN AN INDIAN-MEXICAN VILLAGE AND ON A RECLAMATION PROJECT

By C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard

Introduction

Two rural communities that differ widely in many respects are shown in this report to have one characteristic in common - the scale of family living in both groups depends upon the market.

Thirty-seven Indian-Mexican families, typical of the other farm laborers living along the Rio Grande in lower New Mexico, comprise the first group; and 65 families, almost exclusively farm operators, engaged in commercial large-scale agriculture in northeastern California and southwestern Oregon make up the second. Widely separated in space, different in cultural and racial heritage as well as the forces of nature to which they must adjust themselves, these two groups are equally dependent upon the market. If the commercial farmer on the irrigation project in the Northwest cannot sell his products, he cannot pay his taxes, repair his machinery, or buy food for his table and clothes for his back. If the Mexican laborer cannot sell his only product, labor, he cannot buy the few dollars' worth of beans, flour, chili, and lard that keep his body and soul together.

The average total value of family living for the 37 Indian-Mexican families was $347. For the 65 Oregon-California families it was $2,843. Adding to this disparity was the larger household of the Indian-Mexican farm laborer, composed of 5.3 full-time residents as compared with 4.4 for the farm-operator group. In both groups most of the value of living was purchased, such purchases comprising 96 percent of the living of the laborers' families as compared with 80 percent for the farm operators' families.

Food valued at $193 was consumed by the farm-laborer families as compared with $856 for the farm-operator group. Fifty-five percent of the entire value of living of the 37 farm-laborer families went for food, one-half of this being expended for purchases of flour, chili, and beans. The farm-operator families had a more varied diet and allocated only 30 percent of their total value of living for food.

Clothing cost the 37 farm-laborer families an average of $50 for the whole family as compared with an average of $219 for the 65 farm-operator families. These costs represented 14 and 8 percent respectively of the total values of family living. For health, births, and deaths, the proportions of the total values of family living allocated by the two groups varied less than for any other category. The farm-laborer families allocated 6 percent of the total value

of family living, on the average, as compared with 5 percent for the farm operators.

Levels of living cannot be expressed in terms of dollars and cents. In the life of any person non-material elements may be just as important, or even more important, than food or wearing apparel. However, the traditional non-material culture of the Indian-Mexican farm laborer in the Valley of the Rio Grande is as frayed as his own ragged clothes, and the extent to which the remnants of the old culture may bolster up a lack of material well-being is a matter of conjecture. The commercialized agriculture upon which the individual is dependent today seems to offer little enough for either body or soul. On the other hand, the comparatively well-to-do commercial farmer on the Pacific coast can readily buy the material elements that compose his level of living. But whether he will ever be able to purchase the happiness and abandon which the Indian-Mexican derives from his tribal dance or rabbit hunt is a matter of speculation.

Chapter I

A STUDY OF TORTUGAS, AN INDIAN-MEXICAN VILLAGE

Once you have lived in the Valley of the "Great River," so its inhabitants tell you, you cannot escape its charm. "One drink from the Rio Grande and you will always return for another."

Even casual travelers, visiting the little villages tucked away in the arroyos or perched high on the mesas above the river, find this picturesque country and its people thoroughly intriguing. At high noon in the summertime men with swarthy complexions, their broad-brimmed hats pulled low over their eyes, lounge in the shade of their adobes. Save for the intermittent bark of a dog or the rattle of a rickety old wagon with slanting wheels, quiet prevails. Clouds of dust mark the passing of an occasional wagon or horseman, and small threads of smoke rise lazily from the tin stovepipes or adobe chimneys on the flat roofs. Otherwise all life seems suspended. This is indeed the land of tomorrow. And tomorrow will be just like today with the same climate and the same problems. So why worry?

With gathering dusk the scene changes. A world which the setting sun momentarily drapes with curtains of rich color slowly comes to life. The streets fill with children running hither and yon, their shaggy, straight hair proclaiming their innocence of civilization's brush, comb, and soap. Their numbers indicate the prevalence of large families. The mothers and fathers of these children live not only in the land of tomorrow but also where the most important questions of life, if they are raised at all, are answered by a "quien sabe" or "I don't know." Concerning contraception, therefore, little is known. Nor is such information particularly desired, for in a community of this sort the economic and social uncertainties of daily living bring little real worry.

The inhabitants of the little Indian-Mexican villages on the sun-scorched mesas are the farm laborers whose toil has contributed much to the success of the commercialized agriculture that now dominates the Valley. To these workers and their problems the present report is addressed.

If a lack of material goods means poverty, then the proponents of the philosophy of poverty should turn their attention here. Many a family lives on the dollar a day provided by its work in the cotton fields and truck gardens and on the irrigated farms. But as a southwestern day draws to a close the farm laborer of the lower Rio Grande cannot always say, "Another day, another dollar," for his work is highly seasonal. Today he may have a job, but he is never sure about tomorrow. During the cotton-picking season in the fall a whole family may be busy; but for months after Christmas perhaps not a single member will be employed. An income of a dollar a day for a family of five wouldn't be so bad if the back door opened on a garden filled with beans and chili. But among these people, who are separated from their employers by the rim of the desert, gardens of their own are exceptions.

Before the coming of commercialized agriculture, conditions were different. The family that now lives on a mere dollar a day once may have had its own little plot of ground, raised its own chili and beans, and even boasted a small herd of goats. Or again, the present family may comprise the offspring of former owners of this type. In the days of their comparative economic freedom few of these Indian-Mexicans ever saw the inside of a schoolroom, but the majority felt none the less adequate on this account. Their small holdings were well watered by diminutive laterals, and the Rio Grande, generally speaking, was good to them. What else did they need?

Transportation was likewise a different story a few years ago. Instead of automobiles or trucks speeding through the countryside, burros ambled lazily along the road to the mesa. The more prosperous families had horses. Those who could afford neither a horse nor a burro depended, as do the poorer village families of today, upon their own heads and shoulders for the transportation of goods bought, sold, or traded.

Suppose some philosopher of poverty did want to study human behavior on the margins of existence. What would he learn from the little Spanish-speaking villages on the Rio Grande? We cannot paint the picture in its entirety, but this study of 37 Indian-Mexican families living in the village of Tortugas, New Mexico, should furnish a partial portrayal. 1/

History of Tortugas

The history of Tortugas is permeated with legend and miraculous happenings but strict adherence to the more authentic facts does not alter the pattern materially. The sociologist who was in charge of the field work of this study writes: 2/

"Probably the history of the village began shortly after the settlement of Old Mesilla, which was once quite famous as a military outpost and frontier town on the Mexican border before the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. Although it is known that at one time the natives owned and farmed as their own some of the lands on which they now work for wages, the construction of Leesburg Dam at a point 16 miles up the Rio Grande River made more extensive irrigation possible, and the agriculturalization of Mesilla Valley quickly ensued.

"Short-lived as may have been the economic freedom of the first settlers of Tortugas, it is noteworthy that their flocks once grazed the river bottom and their granaries once stored the corn harvested from their tiny plots of hand-irrigated land. In those days, the Indian tradition lived.

1/ The data for expenditures and income are for the year January 1 to December 1, 1935.

2/ Loomis, C. L., Social Organization of Tortugas Indian Village, unpublished manuscript.

"With the advent of the white man's occupation, the status of the original native changed. When he lost his equity in the land on which he worked, life lost much of its spontaneity. He retained his group or community integrity because his dwelling, fortunately, had been built on uncultivable land. But his flocks soon disappeared as he lost title to grazing lands; and the influx of industrially-made cloth and other products discouraged the handicrafts of weaving, pottery, basket making, and wood carving.

"The first inhabitants of Tortugas were very largely of native Indian parentage. The present residents of the village are recognized as having more of what is essentially Indian in their physiological make-up than do the majority of Mexicans who now inhabit the Valley. However, as far as this investigation was able to determine, there are now only two persons in Tortugas whose lineage is entirely void of Spanish blood.

"So today we see Tortugas as a sum total of its historical experience; beginning as a native Indian village engaged in agriculture, it has lost the full bloom of its ancestral culture as the capitalistic form of agriculture and its concomitant, money economy, have deprived it first of its material possessions and then of its traditional heritage.

"The village now consists of approximately 90 families living in close proximity one to the other. As is usual in Mexican villages, the houses are grouped about the church.

"Consisting of an aggregate of farm laborers and their families, Tortugas may be considered as a landless proletariat. True, most of the inhabitants own the small adobe houses which they themselves built and in which they live, but the land upon which these houses stand is public property and the owners pay no taxes. The fertile valley, which extends to their very doorstep on the west and south, is owned by American farmers. The desert-like mesa to their north and east belongs to the Government and is worthless for agricultural purposes. A few families endeavor to pasture goats upon its sparse growth of sage and briars; and nearly all families secure their firewood from this source, using brush and roots to warm their houses in the winter and to cook their food the year around."

Value of Goods Consumed

The total value of family living for the 37 families studied averaged $347; of this, 96 percent was purchased and 4 percent was furnished, for two families had gardens and one operated a farm. (See Tables 1 and 2; also Fig. 1.) The goods and services that constitute this living are arranged here under seven categories: (1) food, (2) housing and maintenance, (3) clothing, (4) health, births, and deaths, (5) advancement, (6) automobiles, and (7) incidentals and other. 3/

3/ A more detailed exposition of categories is given in the Appendix, Methodological Note; for detailed breakdown of separate items see Appendix, Table 18-A.

Table 1.- Average value, per family and per adult male unit, of goods and services consumed, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935

Item	All families	
	Average per family	Average per adult male unit
Size of family:		
Persons	4.9	-
Adult male units	3.7	-
Size of household:		
Persons	5.3	-
Adult male units	4.0	-
Value of family living:		
Total	$347	$95
Furnished	15	4
Purchased	332	91
Food:		
Total	193	52
Furnished	2	1/
Purchased	191	52
Housing and maintenance:		
Total	55	15
Furnished	13	4
Purchased	42	11
Clothing	50	14
Health, births, deaths	20	5
Advancement	6	2
Automobile	10	3
Incidentals and other	13	4

1/ Less than 50 cents.

Food

The family with the highest income consumed $720 worth of goods and services. 4/ Each of 18 other families expended $300 or more, and the remaining 18 consumed goods valued, on the average, at less than $300. For the 37 families taken as a whole, the average food expenditure was $193. The families with

4/ The family, in this report, consists of parents and children (foster children as well as those of present or previous union) who are unattached to a secondary family. Included in the computation of the size of household are all persons reported as sharing the common table for all or any part of the year covered by the schedule.

Table 2.- Percentage distribution of total goods and services consumed, by value-of-living groups, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups		
		$100-$299	$300-$499	$500-$749
Number of families	37	18	15	4
Average size of family:				
Persons	4.9	4.2	5.7	6.1
Adult male units	3.7	3.2	4.0	4.5
Average size of household:				
Persons	5.3	4.4	6.2	6.3
Adult male units	4.0	3.3	4.5	4.8
Value of family living:				
Total	100	100	100	100
Furnished	4	6	4	2
Purchased	96	94	96	98
Food	55	60	56	47
Furnished	1	1/	1	1/
Purchased	99	100	99	100
Housing and maintenance	16	18	15	15
Furnished	24	32	21	15
Purchased	76	68	79	85
Clothing	14	13	15	15
Health, births, deaths	6	4	6	7
Advancement	2	1/	1	6
Automobile	3	1	3	5
Incidentals and other	4	4	4	5

1/ Less than 50 cents.

the higher incomes, those earning more than $300, allowed less than 55 percent of the total for food. Among those whose values of living were less than $300, 60 percent of the total value of all goods and services consumed went for food. Professor Zimmerman's 15 "poverty families" living in Cuba and earning less than $320 per year also devoted 60 percent of their total expenditures to food. 5/ According to a recent study of four counties in the Appalachian Highlands 488 owner and 245 tenant families in the open country reported values for food consumed that were only slightly higher, proportionately, than those revealed in the study made by Professor Zimmerman. For both owners and tenants in the two groups with total values of family living of less than $400 and from $400 to

5/ Zimmerman, Carle, C., Consumption and Standards of Living, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1936, p. 117 ff.

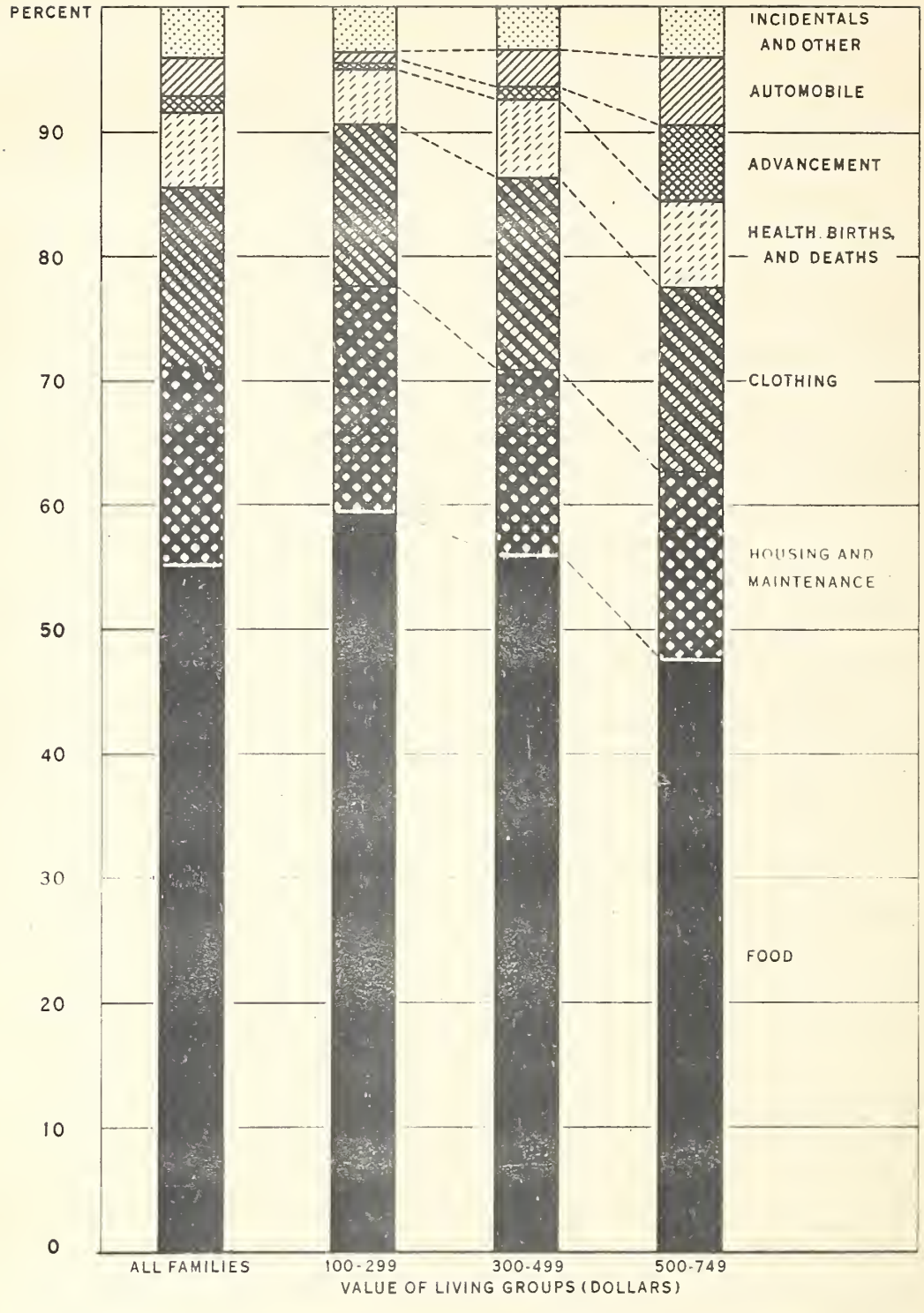

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FIGURE 1.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CONSUMED, BY VALUE-OF-LIVING GROUP, 37 FARM-LABORER FAMILIES, TORTUGAS, NEW MEXICO, 1935.

$499, the proportions of the total allocated for food amounted to 64 and 63 percent respectively. 6/

It is maintained that the cost of a restricted diet, offering a minimum of protective and other foods for 5 persons, amounts to $350 annually. 7/ This diet, one must hasten to add, is considered inadequate for an extended length of time. Yet among the 37 Indian-Mexican families averaging 5.3 members the value of food consumed, $193, was just slightly more than one-half of this estimate for a restricted diet.

To stave off the pangs of hunger on 10 cents a day must be difficult for any individual. How is it accomplished? How can these families exist on such small expenditures for food? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that they eat enormous quantities of beans and chili pepper. According to 11 sample families, one-half of the expenditures for food goes for these two commodities. (See Table 18-A. Chili pepper and dried beans are listed under "greens.") Goss found from a series of food analyses that Mexican families were able to obtain more protein, more carbohydrates, and a greater fuel value for 7 cents than Negro families in the South obtained for 8 cents. 8/ The recent finding that chili peppers are significant sources of vitamines A and C means that our appraisal of the dietary adequacy of these Mexican diets is more favorable now than it was several years ago.

Ramon Salvador 9/ had 6 persons living in his house. Of the $247 that represented the total family earnings, almost 50 percent went for food. Ramon fed the household on $23.50 per person for the year, his three most important items of expenditure being $42 for flour, $32 for lard, and $26 for beans. The Biblical claim that man does not live by bread alone has no literal application on the Rio Grande, for here the word "beans" rather than "bread" symbolizes food. Beans every meal for 365 days each year might not sound very inviting, but there is always the chili to add a certain bite and savor.

Housing and Maintenance

Nature does much to simplify the housing problem for the people of Tortugas. The climate is kind, for there is seldom a day when the sun fails to shine. Rains are few and the winters, though snappy, are seldom extremely cold. To add to these fortunate circumstances, the soil is of such a constituency that it can readily be shaped into the best of adobe bricks.

6/ Data from forthcoming publication of the Farm Security Administration.
7/ Stiebeling, Hazel K., and Ward, Medora M., Diets at Four Levels of Nutritive Content and Cost, Bull. No. 296, U. S. Dept. of Agr., 1933; and Leven, Maurice, Moulton, Harold G., and Warburton, Clark, America's Capacity to Consume, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1934.
8/ Goss, Arthur, Nutrition Investigations in New Mexico, Bull. No. 54, U. S. Dept. of Agr., 1898.
9/ Family names used in this report are fictitious.

The 37 families included in this study lived in houses that averaged 2 rooms in size, were 20 years of age, and had a replacement value of $166. But these dwellings were more satisfactory than the figures might indicate. The walls were constructed of bricks made of sun-dried earthen mortar to which sticks and straws had been added to give tensile strength. For the most part, the roofs were made of logs laid across the adobe walls and laced together with small boughs, the latter often skillfully woven into some intricate pattern. Loose dirt, thrown upon the foundation of logs and branches to a depth of several inches, completed the roof. Floors, particularly in the homes of the poorest families, were usually of dirt. During the winter months they were covered with straw as a protection against the cold. People who live in houses with earth under, over, and all around them really do not fare so badly. The thick adobe walls, which resist the penetrating rays of the sun in summer, serve equally well to retain the meager heat produced by the little mesquite brush fires in winter.

The average value of housing and maintenance, including both the furnished and purchased items, was $55. This total included $22 for rent, $20 for fuel, $4 for furnishings and equipment, and $9 for household operations.

Senor and Senora Padilla, together with their 6 children, lived in a one-room adobe, measuring 15 by 20 feet. They had no floors save the hard surface of the earth. Had they possessed a southern exposure to admit the warmth of the sun, the lack of flooring might not have been so serious; but unfortunately their bootlegger predecessors had had the southern door sealed with a 2-foot adobe wall. Therefore, as shoes were unattainable on their $400-a-year income, their barefooted children shivered in the cold house all through the winter. Fortunately it was usually warm outside in the sunshine.

Accessories and facilities for the Tortugas dwellings were correspondingly inadequate. Wood stoves were reported by 34 percent of the families; 2 families had fireplaces, and 1 enjoyed the luxury of both fireplace and stove. Kerosene lamps were used in 36 of the homes if and when lights were required at night. One family had electric lights and a radio, but none possessed a telephone and all of the families carried water from outside wells.

Clothing

Not so many years ago, comparatively speaking, the natives of Tortugas wore the handmade bonnets and native Indian dress of their ancestors. In those times, when the Indians went through their tribal ceremonies, indigenous clothes and dance made an integrated whole. But nowadays, though the same dances persist in the ceremonies that are held in December of every year, rags from cotton mills 2,000 miles away and a few worn and bedraggled survivals of tribal garb combine to create a picture that is at once grotesque and pathetic.

According to the families included in the study, 14 percent of all their expenditures went for the modern work clothes and shoes that have replaced the traditional tribal dress. As the active head of the household must be clad, $21 was spent for clothes for men less than 45 years old; $12 sufficed for those

more than 44 years of age (Table 3). Obviously, no suits or silk shirts could be bought on any such annual expenditures. Women fared worse. On the average those under 45 years old spent $11 and those over 44 years, $6. There could be no spring hats on budgets of this kind; only the men could afford hats or caps. Out of the total clothing expenditure for 11 random families, footwear claimed the largest proportion, 34 percent; work clothes were next, accounting for 30 percent; and underwear was third with 10 percent (Table 18-A).

Table 3.- Average cost of clothing for parents and offspring, by sex and age, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935

Item	Clothing			
	Male		Female	
	Total number	Average cost	Total number	Average cost
Offspring				
Age in years:				
0 - 5	27	$ 4	19	$ 3
6 - 11	20	7	20	5
12 and over	20	13	18	18
Parents				
Age in years:				
18 - 44	18	21	26	11
45 and over	13	12	11	6

Health, Births, and Deaths

Despite the salubrious climate, doctors made frequent visits to Tortugas in the year covered by this study. Many of their calls had to be charged to philanthropy, but even so their fees claimed 60 percent of all expenditures for health, births, and deaths. Eleven percent of the disbursements in this category went for patent medicines. Altogether the average family spent $20, or 6 percent of its entire income in its effort to protect its health and to bring its offspring into the world and bury its dead.

Advancement

Rural sociologists maintain that expenditures for formal education, reading, social participation, theaters, movies, and the like constitute "advancement" expenditures. Before the Tortugas families or their forebears gave up their old Indian and Mexican culture in favor of the new, they spent very little for these items. Even today disbursements for "advancement" are almost negligible, averaging only $6, or 2 percent of all expenditures, per family.

Automobiles

The 9 families who owned automobiles spent an average of $39 a year for the operation and upkeep of their machines. Although disbursements for repairs and gasoline may have been made at the expense of needed clothing and food, such sacrifices were probably considered worth the discomfort they entailed, if they brought pleasure and a social status otherwise difficult to acquire. To be envied by all the families in the neighborhood is no insignificant attainment, and owners of automobiles stand high in the modern social scale. Since the old Indian hierarchy based on inherited status and achievement has disappeared from Tortugas, money income and the conspicuous consumption it makes possible have created a basis for a new order.

Incidentals and Other

That a $547 income for a large family would permit only trifling expenditures for other than dire necessities is to be expected. The families studied spent an average of $13 for incidentals and "other" items (Table 1). Of this amount approximately $11, or 3 percent of the total value of family living was absorbed by such items as gifts, tobacco, candy, soda-fountain expenditures, liquor, toilet articles, and personal care. The remaining $2 covered all traveling for pleasure and, in addition, allocations of personal taxes and of payments on mortgage and other indebtedness that could be made to family living.

Cash Receipts

The demands of the local labor market serve as an index of the temporary well-being of the families in Tortugas. But even in the most prosperous years the market is scarcely adequate to maintain the village level of living, low as it is. Other sources must be tapped for additional capital, particularly since land on which the families might produce part of their living is not available.

For several years preceding this study Government projects provided much of the supplementary income reported by the families. Wages, which constituted 78 percent of all cash receipts, were almost 50 percent attributable to public works.

Gifts, loans, and, in a few instances, the sale of farm products were other sources from which funds were derived (Table 4). Actual cash relief went to 5 percent of the families. The average family received goods of a nonmonetary nature valued at $23, the surplus commodities distributed by the Government amounting to $5 and the contributions of local charities and relief, $20. Thus cash relief, work on Government projects, and gifts of a nonmonetary nature amounted to $168 per family. Donations of cash from family members and other persons, none of whom were living in the house, came to another $48. Of the total receipts, 97 percent was absorbed by family living. One percent went for investments, most of which could be ascribed to premiums on the life insurance policies held by 7 of the families.

Table 4.- Average amounts and percentage distribution of all cash receipts 1/ and expenditure, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935

Item	All families	
	Average per family	Percentage distribution
Size of family in persons	4.9	-
Total cash receipts	$344	100
Wages of operator	201	58
Wages of other family members	67	20
Cash relief	13	4
Other sources 2/	63	18
Funds from reserve 3/	3	-
Total cash expenditure	344	100
Family living	332	97
Farm operation 4/	8	2
All investments	4	1
Funds into reserve 5/	6	-

1/ Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the standard concept of cash receipts. Loans have been included in order to make this section of the report conform with the separate analysis of the seven Resettlement communities on which the families utilized to a large degree borrowed money for family-living expenditures.

2/ Forty-eight dollars in gifts from persons not living in the household, $2 borrowed, and $13 accruing from the sale of livestock, poultry, and garden products by 3 families.

3/ Funds from reserve are not actual receipts; they represent decreases in checking accounts and cash on hand at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule period.

4/ Only 2 families had gardens and one operated a small farm.

5/ Money placed into reserve is the amount by which checking accounts and cash on hand had been increased by the end of the schedule year over this amount at the beginning of the year; this item is not included in expenditures.

Family Size and Family Life

The birthrate among the Mexicans of the Southwest is comparatively high. How do parents find it possible to feed additional mouths as their families grow? 10/ According to studies of the family life cycle, farm and peasant families accomplish this by one type of adjustment and city families by another. With the coming of the first child in a peasant or farm home the mother and father may work harder, obtaining greater yields from the farm either by means of more efficient operation or by an expansion of the acreage cultivated. In the city, expenditure of further energy to yield greater returns is seldom possible. Hence additional mouths necessarily mean less food for the parents or other young children. As a result the family may sink beneath the poverty line. 11/

The farm-laborer families in Tortugas, lacking both gardens and livestock, must follow the pattern of the urban family until the children are old enough to sell their labor. Hence the larger the number of young children, the more difficult it is to obtain necessary food, shelter, and clothing. The large families, those with 5 or more members, consumed $394 worth of goods and services during the year, whereas the small families, those with less than 5 members, consumed goods valued at $100 less than that amount. But the differential was not sufficient to allow the large families to maintain as high a level of living as the small. In terms of adult male equivalent units 12/ the large families had to skimp even on the necessities. They spent only $47 per adult male unit for food as contrasted with $64 for the smaller families (Table 5). The value of housing and maintenance per adult male unit for large families, $11, was one-half that for small families, $23. Only for clothing did the large and small families spend a comparatively similar amount per adult

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10/ Loomis, C. P., The Study of the Life Cycle of Families, Rural Sociology, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1936.

11/ Rowntree, B. S., Poverty, A Study of Town Life, Longmans, Green and Company, London-New York-Toronto, 1922, p. 160 ff. Also Rowntree, B. S., The Human Needs of Labour, T. Nelson and Sons, London-Edinburgh-New York, 1918, chapter I. In the latter work the author discusses the influence of the proportion of children who are under 14 and hence, unproductive.

12/ Cost of Living in the United States, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. No. 357, May 1924: Adult Male - 1.00; Adult Female - .90; Child of 11 to 14 years, inclusive - .90; Child of 7 to 10 years, inclusive - .75; Child of 4 to 6 years, inclusive - .40; Child of 3 years or under - .15. Obviously a scale that is computed on the basis of food requirements should not be used as a devisor for other items of consumption if better scales were available. But this common practice is justified by virtue of the comparisons it makes possible. Also, per-capita requirements for most of the items, with the possible exception of health, are not so great as those per adult male unit. A general consumption scale was not considered so useful for this study as the one here used.

Table 5.- Average value, per family and per adult male unit, of goods and services consumed, by size of family, 1/ 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935

Item	Average per family			Average per adult male unit		
	All families	Small families	Large families	All families	Small families	Large families
Number of families	37	18	19	-	-	-
Number of persons per room	.4	.6	.3	-	-	-
Size of family in adult male units	3.7	2.4	4.8	-	-	-
Size of household in persons	5.3	3.7	6.9	-	-	-
Value family living:						
Total	$347	$298	$394	$95	$122	$81
Furnished	15	16	14	4	6	3
Purchased	332	282	380	91	116	78
Food:						
Total	193	158	226	52	64	47
Furnished	2	1	2	2/	2/	1
Purchased	191	157	224	52	64	46
Housing and maintenance:						
Total	55	54	57	15	23	11
Furnished	13	15	12	4	7	2
Purchased	42	39	45	11	16	9
Clothing	50	35	65	14	14	13
Health, births, deaths	20	21	20	5	9	4
Advancement	6	10	3	2	4	1
Automobile	10	5	13	3	2	3
Incidentals and other	13	15	12	4	6	2

1/ Small families: those having less than 5 members. Large families: those having 5 or more members.
2/ Less than 50 cents.

male unit. Food, housing and maintenance, and clothing absorbed 88 percent of the total value of family living for the large families, while small families devoted 83 percent of their living for these items. Obviously the small families were enabled to expend a greater sum for advancement goods and to use more selectivity in catering to their personal wishes than the large.

Educational Status

When the Tortugas child enters school he must learn a new language. He does this in a surprisingly short time even though his customary speech at home and at play is the Spanish spoken by his parents. His home life is likely to furnish a poor educational background as the father in the average household has completed less than two, and the mother less than three, grades in school.

Sixty-seven children over 6 years of age who were living at home were not attending school at the time the survey was made. Six had never attended school, and one-half of those who had been in school had failed to complete more than the fourth grade. Of this group both boys and girls had completed slightly more than three grades. Children in the early grades of school are apparently retarded (Table 6), a condition that is due in some measure at least to irregular attendance.

Table 6.- Offspring in school classified according to age, grade completed, and grade that would have been completed with normal progress, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935 1/

Age in years	Number children	Average grade completed	Grade with normal progress	Percent retarded	
				Number	Percent
7-8-9	30	-	-	-	-
10	6	4	4	2	33
11	2	3	5	2	100
12	3	3	6	3	100
13	7	4	7	7	100
14	1	4	8	1	100
15	1	7	9	1	100
16	-	-	10	-	-
17	-	-	11	-	-
18	-	-	12	-	-
Total	-	-	-	16	80

1/ This table has been arranged with the purpose in mind of ascertaining the normalcy, or departure from the normal, in the grade completed, by age, of the offspring attending school. This normal is based on the conjecture that a child entering school at the age of 6 years should have completed the first grade at 7 years of age and a grade per year thereafter. Data for children aged 7, 8, and 9 years are omitted in order to eliminate, to a certain extent, the influence of varying ages at which the children enter school.

Community Participation

Of the 37 families, 33 reported no attendance at organizations other than the church on the part of the male head and homemaker. Only 8 of the 135 children living at home participated in any secular organization. The larger

an individual's expenditure for clothing, the more often he attended church. This was true even though expenditures for suits and dresses were few; and it provided further evidence that clothing expenditures are related to and correlated with social activity (Table 7). The male heads and homemakers of the families with the largest incomes more frequently went to church than those whose earnings were less.

Table 7.- Average cost of clothing, average grade completed, and average value of family living, classified by the number of times attending church meetings per month, parents and offspring, 37 farm-laborer families, Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935 1/

Item	Number of times in attendance monthly			
	Total	0	1 - 4	5 - 8
Parents:				
Male	33 2/	9	18	6
Female	37	4	23	10
Offspring:				
Male	76	27	39	10
Female	59	17	30	12
Male head:				
Cost of clothing	$15	$10	$16	$19
Highest grade completed	2	1	2	1
Value of family living	$360	$303	$374	$404
Homemaker:				
Cost of clothing	$9	$9	$10	$9
Highest grade completed	3	5	3	2
Value of family living	$347	$241	$353	$377
Male offspring:				
Cost of clothing	$5	$2	$7	$6
Highest grade completed	2	2	2	3
Value of family living	$409	$378	$433	$402
Female offspring:				
Cost of clothing	$8	$1	$10	$12
Highest grade completed	2	2	2	2
Value of family living	$400	$351	$413	$436

1/ There were 16 offspring and 4 male heads of households for whom this information was not reported.
2/ Includes 3 sons acting as male heads of families.

The Catholic Church and the priest play an important part in the life of Tortugas. Regarding this, the field supervisor writes: "As is often true of Mexican Catholics, the men of Tortugas take little active part in the church activities. Tortugas is a small village and the attendance at services is

small. The priest informed us that only one service is held each week. Mid-week services have been attempted from time to time, but the number attending does not warrant the effort required. Constant or regular attendance, particularly among the men, is considered unnecessary if confession, Lent, and certain other special religious occasions are scrupulously observed.

"Closely related to the Catholic Church and its hold on the people of Tortugas are certain other traditions which partake much of the religious element. Particularly prominent is a pageant, Los Pastorales, which the Tortugas Indians, together with certain Indian-Mexican factions residing in Las Cruces, produce each year. It is thought that the play was originally devised by early Spanish Catholics in Mexico as a means of imparting to the native Indian an understanding of certain basic precepts and doctrines of Christianity. Doubtless, the Spanish Christianizers found drama an effective, if not the only, method of inculcating the unlettered pagan with enough Christian principle and teaching to render him eligible for baptism and conversion.

"Pantomime was peculiarly adapted to the cultural tastes of the Indian. His savage nature had found expression in tribal dances for centuries past. Nothing could so quickly arouse his passions or sooth his fiery disposition as the rhythmic movement of his dance. Therefore, in adopting pantomime as a teaching instrument, the Spanish missionary availed himself of an invaluable aid.

"Los Pastorales, as it is produced each year by the Tortugas and other local Indians, 13/ is a beautiful portrayal of the birth of the Christ. One is much impressed by the child-like sincerity with which the actors play their parts and the respect with which the spectators regard it. Much rehearsal and preparation precedes its formal presentation on Christmas Eve, and the responsibility for its production affords a bond of common interest that is deeply felt by all.

"From the administrative and executive viewpoint, the production of Los Pastorales 14/ is interesting because of the democratic and business-like way

13/ "Indians" here is used advisedly since Mexicans, generally, do not participate in the giving of this play. Of course not all those who do participate are entirely free from Spanish blood; but only those who identify themselves with the ancient Indian and cling tenaciously to certain elements of his primitive culture find the play meaningful and strive to perpetuate the tradition. Origin from a common Indian ancestor is for them a point of mutual pride.

14/ Mrs. F. D. Butts, who wrote a master's thesis on the origin of Los Pastorales, described the difficulties that the impoverished Indians encountered in giving the play during the severe years of the depression. All decorations had to be borrowed. No money was available for costumes, and poverty was so general among the Indians that the quality of the play suffered much; but the play was given just the same.

in which all arrangements and plans for its production are made. Each year, after the play has been given, the Indians assemble for a fiesta to celebrate its success. At this time a committee is chosen to assume the responsibility for the next year's production, and a chairman is elected. The chairman is play director and upon his shoulders falls the burden of superintending the whole undertaking. Also he must provide for the fiesta that will follow the next rendering of the play.

"Besides Los Pastorales and the fiesta, there are other institutionalized forms of group activities which integrate social tradition and sentiment. The most important of these are the tribal dances which are given each year on the twelfth day of December.

"The Native or pagan element is particularly marked among the Mexican Catholics whose ancestry is predominantly Indian and whose traditional heritage has been preserved. The Tortugas Indians fairly well represent a homogeneous strain of native ancestry. It is true that they are Catholics and as such worship and pay tribute as Catholics must; but in the conduct of their religious ceremonies and ritual they have retained much of the native custom, color, and manner. Thus we find them paying special tribute to their patron saint in Tortugas each year by means of a tribal dance and fires which illuminate the Tortugas Mountain. The following is taken from an article appearing in the El Paso Herald several years ago:

> 'Lighting of fires on the mountains throughout Mexico in the Virgin's honor is an annual custom that is picturesque.
>
> 'Natives in their simple faith labor up the sides of their rugged mountains surrounding or near their home with loads of wood and fagots and, as soon as darkness settles upon the country, they light their fuel and keep it burning throughout the night. Tradition is that the patron saint of the country returns once a year to give her blessings to the people. The fires are lighted as a means of guiding her footsteps and as a signal of welcome from the faithful.'

"Since the Catholic Church of Las Cruces has held that the pagan rites of the dance are essentially non-Christian even though they are intended to solicit the sympathy and expiation of the patron saint of Guadalupe (Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe), the Indians about Tortugas carry on their annual dances beyond the purview of church ordinance or control. So strong is the tradition that the inhabitants of Tortugas have united and built an instruction chamber where the young warriors are given their first lessons in tribal dancing as soon as they become of age. Popular vote dictates the dance master and trainer for the year, age, dancing ability, and racial purity figuring most prominently in the ultimate selection. Formerly the rites began at Tortugas and terminated when the dancers, after dancing all the way, arrived at the Catholic Church in Las Cruces. Those who wished to do special penance for sins committed during the year often crawled or walked on their hands and knees over the rock and thorn-strewn path from the summit of Tortugas Mountain to the church steps, a distance

of some six or seven miles. At present, all dancing is confined to the local building at Tortugas. The ceremonies begin on the night of December 11 and continue through the next day, the performers leaving the dance only as they become utterly exhausted.

"Although only a few are selected for active participation, the entire village is vitally concerned and everyone turns out on these occasions. Needless to say, the tradition is losing much of its native flavor as the ceremony attracts more and more American spectators. With commercialization, the Indian is losing much of the natural spontaneity and genuine self-expression which characterized him in his native environment."

Summary of this Study

(1) Thirty-seven families in the Indian-Mexican village of Tortugas, New Mexico, were interviewed. Findings relative to family living were taken as representative of the social and economic conditions of a large number of Spanish-speaking farm laborers in the Rio Grande Valley in southern New Mexico.

(2) Total cash receipts for these families averaged $344. This amount was composed of $268 from wages, approximately one-half of which was earned from public works, and of $76 accruing from gifts, cash relief, and the production and sale of a few farm products by three of the families.

(3) The average total value of family living for the 37 families was $347.

(4) Food, housing and maintenance, and clothing absorbed $298, or 85 percent of the total value of family living.

(5) The average family was composed of 5.3 members. It was housed in a two-room dwelling that had a replacement value of $166.

(6) The average schooling for the male heads was less than 2 years of attendance; for the homemakers it was less than 3. The 57 children over 6 years of age and not attending school had completed only slightly over three grades.

(7) Institutionalized community participation of a secular nature was very limited. In 33 of the homes no participation in any organization other than the church was reported for either the homemakers or male heads of families, and only 8 of the 135 children living at home attended any non-church institutional meeting during the year.

Chapter II

A STUDY OF FAMILY LIVING ON AN IRRIGATION PROJECT, TULE LAKE, CALIFORNIA 15/

Because of the nature of the Tule Lake settlement, the families here studied constitute a group that would be difficult to duplicate in any other rural section in the country. Classified by former occupations, they range from professional persons to tenant farmers. Their spatial distribution previous to settlement was correspondingly diversified, some of the homesteaders coming from as far south as Texas and others coming from as far east as New York.

This heterogeneity of previous occupation and residence was largely due to the selection method adopted by the Federal Bureau of Reclamation. Prospective settlers were required to be citizens of the United States. They had to possess at least $2,000 either in money free from liabilities or in farming inventory. Good health, industry, reputable character, and at least 2 years of experience in farming comprised other criteria for selection. According to law, for the first 90 days after the lands were opened to entry they were available only to soldiers, sailors, or marines who had served in the Army or the Navy of the United States. When this 90-day preference period had expired, other properly qualified persons were permitted to apply for the lands that remained. Other regulations pertaining to the project conform to those established by the Department of the Interior for homesteading in general. Since the true value of the land at Tule Lake has been discovered, these holdings have been much in demand and the number of applicants has greatly exceeded the number of units released.

The Klamath Irrigation Project is located in Modoc and Siskiyou Counties in northeastern California and in Klamath County in southeastern Oregon. It includes 141,000 irrigable acres and, when completed, should embrace 170,000. All lands in the Tule Lake Division are public lands and are to be opened for settlement upon completion of the irrigation works. Because irrigated farms are usually smaller than those devoted to a less intensive type of farm economy, the average farm included in the study was smaller than the average for non-project farms in the same three counties (Table 8). A large area of cheap land suitable for grazing surrounds the project and this, together with the favorable climate, makes the Klamath district a good stock and dairy county. The major crops grown on the project are alfalfa, grain, and potatoes.

Of the 65 families selected for study, 58 were homesteaders who had settled on the project immediately after the entry dates of 1922 and 1927. Consequently, sufficient time had elapsed for them to become adjusted to the new environment. Two of the families occupied holdings they had bought from

15/ Data for this study cover the period January 1 to December 31, 1935.

the original homesteaders, 3 were renters, and 2 were farm laborers. 16/

Table 8.- Average size of farm and average value of farm and buildings per farm, 64 Federal Reclamation project families, Oregon-California, 1935, compared with that for the two States and three counties as reported by the 1935 Census 1/

Item	Average size of farm in acres	Average value of farm and buildings
Oregon	268	$ 6,922
Klamath County	434	10,281
California	202	15,466
Modoc County	769	14,162
Siskiyou County	564	10,897
64 families of study	95	10,525

U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935.
1/ One family operating 9,112 acres, with the farm and buildings valued at $50,000, omitted.

Size of Family

Family-living studies show consistently that, other things being equal, larger farm families tend to earn larger incomes than smaller farm families. But these greater incomes are not always sufficient to allow the members of large families to live as well individually as the members of small families (Table 9). Families are designated here as small if they comprise less than 5 full-time residents or as large if they include 5 or more full-time residents. 17/

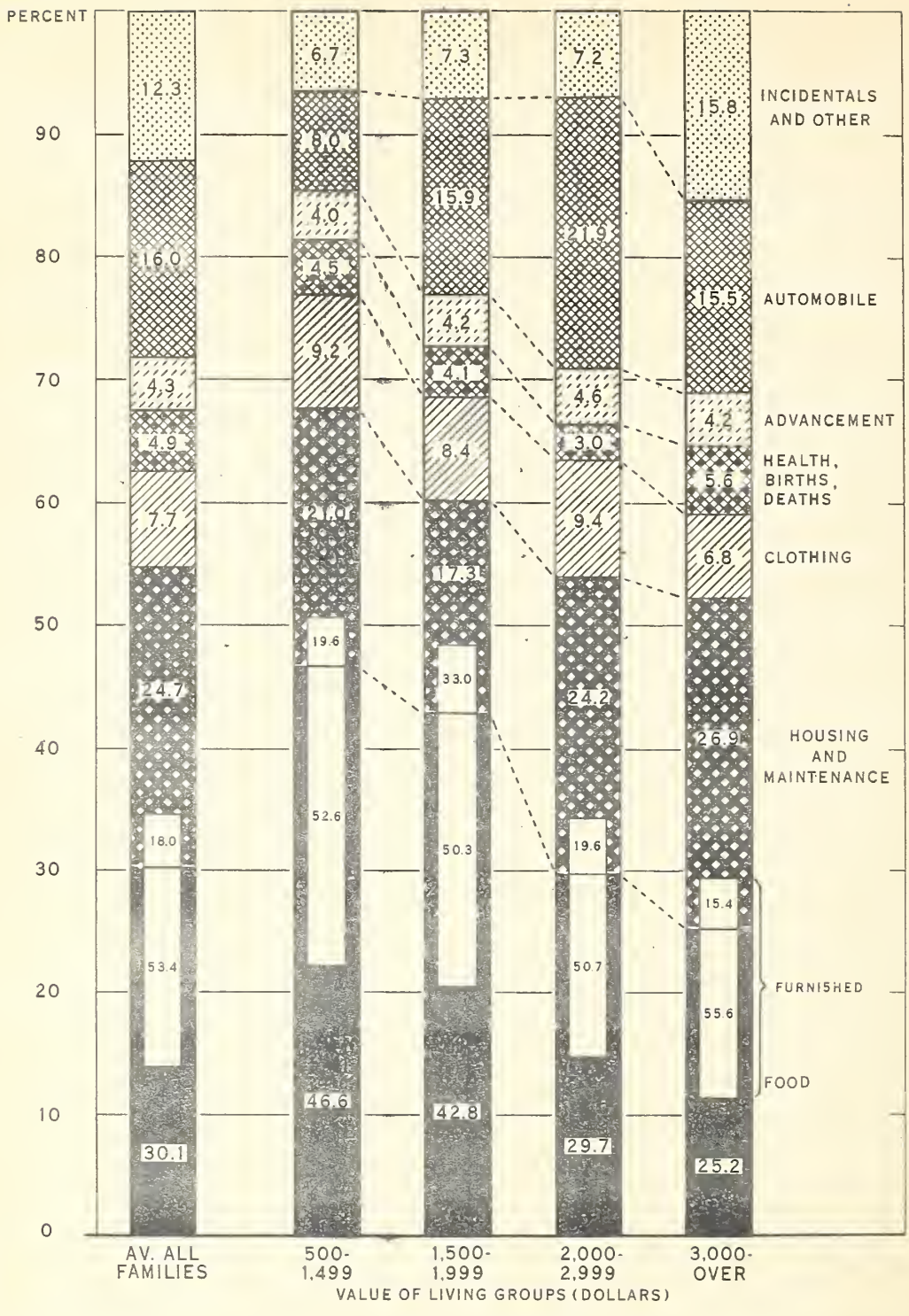
In this study the large families reported an average value of family living of $3,120 as compared with $2,737 for the small families. However, the average values of living per adult male equivalent 18/ were $1,035 and $693 for the small and the large families respectively. The large families produced an average of 25 percent of their living on the farm, whereas only 19 percent was produced by the small families (Table 9).

16/ The totals representing value of family living for the 2 families in the farm-laborer category were $1,379 and $572; for the 3 tenant families they were $808, $1,694, and $2,757.
17/ See footnote 4, p. 6.
18/ See footnote 12, p. 14.

Table 9.- Average value, per family and per adult male equivalent, and the percentage distribution of goods and services consumed, by size of family, 1/ 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	Average per family			Percentage distribution of the total value of family living			Average per adult male equivalent		
	All families	Small families	Large families	All families	Small families	Large families	All families	Small families	Large families
Number of families	65	47	18	65	47	18	65	47	18
Number of rooms	4.5	4.4	4.8	-	-	-	1.2	1.4	1.0
Size of family in adult male units	3.2	2.6	4.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Size of household in persons	4.4	3.7	6.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Value family living:									
Total	$2,843	$2,737	$3,120	100	100	100	$888	$1,035	$695
Furnished	583	511	773	20	19	25	182	193	172
Purchased	2,260	2,226	2,347	80	81	75	706	842	521
Food:									
Total	856	777	1,062	30	28	34	268	294	236
Furnished	457	387	640	53	50	60	143	146	142
Purchased	399	390	422	47	50	40	125	148	94
Housing and maintenance:									
Total	702	645	850	25	24	27	219	244	188
Furnished	126	124	132	18	19	16	39	47	29
Purchased	576	521	718	82	81	84	180	197	159
Clothing	219	197	278	8	7	9	68	74	62
Health, births deaths	139	134	153	5	5	5	43	51	34
Advancement	121	130	96	4	5	3	38	49	21
Automobile	455	423	539	16	15	17	142	160	120
Incidentals and other	351	431	142	12	16	5	110	163	32

1/ Small families: those having less than 5 members. Large families: those having 5 or more members.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEG. 32962 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 2.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CONSUMED, BY VALUE-OF-LIVING GROUP, 65 FAMILIES ON A FEDERAL RECLAMATION PROJECT, OREGON-CALIFORNIA, 1935.

Value of Goods Consumed 19/

The 65 families consumed an average of $2,843 worth of goods and services during the year. Most of this living (80 percent) came from the store rather than from the field or barn (Table 9). As Tule Lake farmers operate relatively large-scale commercial farm enterprises, their eyes are primarily on the market and little attention is given to producing for the home table.

To learn the consumption pattern of the 65 households, four graduations in total value of family living were established. This distribution is composed of families with values of living ranging from $500 to $1,499, $1,500 to $1,999, $2,000 to $2,999, and $3,000 and over.

According to Engel, "The poorer the individual, a family, or a people, the greater must be the percentage of the income necessary for the maintenance of physical sustenance, and again of this a greater portion must be allowed for food." 20/ In this report food alone conforms to the category "physical sustenance" in Engel's study. If the group with the lowest value of living, $500 to $1,499, were excluded, housing and maintenance would also conform to this principle. No such general tendency or its reverse holds true for other categories.

The larger the total value of family living, the smaller the proportion that was furnished by the farm. The 14 families with values of family living ranging from $500 to $1,499 produced 29 percent of their living on the farm, whereas those reporting $3,000 or more for family living produced only 18 percent on the farm (Table 10).

Food

Professor Zimmerman, after analyzing many studies of levels of living, concluded that 40 to 60 percent of man's economic energy is generally required to feed himself and his dependents. 21/ Among the 65 Tule Lake families food constituted only 30 percent of the total value of family living (Table 10 and Fig. 2). Seldom is the proportion so low. The 25 families with values of family living of $3,000 and over allocated only 25 percent of the total to food.

19/ For a description of the items comprising the various categories given in this study, see Appendix, Methodological Note.

20/ Engel, Ernst, Die Lebenskosten belgischer Arbeiter Familien fruehr und jetzt, Bulletin de l'institute international de statistique, X, premiere livraison, Rome, 1895, 40 pp. For history of standards-of-living studies, see: Williams, Faith M., Bibliography on Studies of Costs and Standards of Living in the United States, A Preliminary Report, 111 pp., U. S. Department of Agriculture, July 1930; and Research in Farm Family Living, Scope and Method Bull. No. 11, 209 pp., Social Science Research Council, April 1933.

21/ Zimmerman, Carle C., op. cit., p. 96.

Table 10.- Percentage distribution of goods and services consumed during 1 year, among the principal groups of goods furnished and purchased, classified by value-of-living groups; 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		$500-$1,499	$1,500-$1,999	$2,000-$2,999	$3,000 and over
Number of families	65	14	13	13	25
Average size of family:					
Persons	3.9	3.1	3.2	4.2	4.4
Adult male units	3.2	2.5	2.7	3.5	3.6
Average size of household:					
Persons	4.4	3.3	3.5	4.8	5.3
Adult male units	3.7	2.8	3.0	4.1	4.4
Average number of males of working age	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.4
Value of family living:					
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Furnished	20	29	27	20	18
Purchased	80	71	73	80	82
Food:					
Total	30	47	43	30	25
Furnished	53	53	50	51	56
Purchased	47	47	50	49	44
Housing and maintenance:					
Total	25	21	17	24	27
Furnished	18	20	33	20	15
Purchased	82	80	67	80	85
Clothing	8	9	9	9	7
Health, births, deaths	5	4	4	3	6
Advancement	4	4	4	5	4
Automobile	16	8	16	22	15
Incidentals and other	12	7	7	7	16

For each of the four different economic levels based on value of living, over one-half of the food consumed was furnished by the farm. The large families allocated 34 percent of their total values of family living to food as compared with 28 percent for the small families. Thus it may be seen that the larger the family the larger was the proportion of the total value of living allocated to food. It may be inferred also that an increase in the size of the family has the same influence on the internal constituency of the budget as a

decrease in the total value of living. 22/ Reduced to adult male equivalents, the larger families consumed less food per adult male unit, $236, than the small families, $294.

A value of $856 for food consumption for 4 persons is relatively large. In Tortugas, New Mexico, the value of food consumed by the average Indian-Mexican family with 5 members was $193. For most farm family groups, the average value of food consumption falls somewhere between these two extremes.

Housing and Maintenance

In the city the answer to the question, "Where does he live?" may, in general, establish one as belonging to the fur-coat, white-collar, or overall class. And a glance at a man's living room, 23/ it is sometimes maintained, will reveal his income, intelligence quotient, and possibly morality.

There are other ways, too, in which a home may be revealing. In peasant societies, for instance, a house may stand practically unaltered for many generations. Such houses, grouped together, often seem identical to the foreigner; but to the peasant his dwelling is the material expression of creative abilities and aspirations that have descended to him from his forbears. While the carving over the door may embrace his own moral code, the decorations of the hearth may be reminiscent of the admonitions of his grandfather or great-grandfather. An oaken chest, a fireside settle, a hand-woven spread - articles wrought or carved by this ancestor or that - are all about him. Thus the handiwork of generations past lends a powerful influence toward the preservation and enhancement of the family heritage.

The houses of the 65 Tule Lake families embodied few such traditional elements, however, for they were, on the average, only 5.4 years old. The average replacement value was $1,794, although the range of average values was from $700 for the group with the lowest total value of living, $500 to $1,499, to $2,706 for the group with a value of living amounting to $3,000 and over. For the most part the houses of low replacement value had been built only for temporary use.

Klamath Falls, together with the surrounding territory, comprises a lumbering center. As lumber is relatively cheap it is not surprising, therefore, that 59 of the houses were constructed of wood. Although they were farm dwellings, the duplicates of these houses could be found in many cities. "These homesteaders possess more modern conveniences such as automobiles, radios, hot running water, bathrooms, indoor toilets, electric refrigerators, stoves, washing machines, and even oil burners than many comparable groups of city dwellers. Almost invariably, settlers who have built new houses have installed such conveniences. Others still living in homestead shacks already possess some of these

22/ Ibid, p. 550 ff.
23/ Chapin, Francis Stuart, The Measurement of Social Status, by the Use of the Social Status Scale, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1933.

advantages, and most of them are awaiting only an opportune time for building new and completely modern dwellings." 24/

All but two of the families have electricity, and five have central heating systems. Only two have neither a telephone nor a radio and 17 have both. Ten of the families have running water in their homes. Twenty families carry water from wells, and the others get it from springs.

In the 65 dwellings there was, on the average, one room for each person. The more modern dwellings were much larger as a rule than the rough, temporary houses still occupied by some of the settlers.

Housing and maintenance consumed $702, or 25 percent of the total value of family living. Important among the purchased items were additions and alterations amounting to $212, furnishings and equipment accounting for $145, and fuel costing $112. Of the total value of housing and maintenance, 18 percent was furnished.

Clothing

Besides protecting him from the weather or from the implements and materials with which he works, the clothing a man wears has other functions to perform. It may establish an individual as having a definite social status, or again, it may denote the occupational or age group to which he belongs. It may enable him to conform to local requirements for participating in both organized and unorganized group activities. The type of clothing a man wears is conditioned in no small measure by custom. Generally the participation in social activities means the purchase of more clothes (Table 11). Tule Lake families that go to church, for example, spent considerably more for clothing than those who did not.

Table 11.- Average cost of clothing for parents and offspring, by sex and age, 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	Male		Female	
	Total number	Average cost of clothing	Total number	Average cost of clothing
Offspring				
Age in years:				
0 - 5	18	$27	13	$22
6 - 11	30	39	21	29
12 and over	26	45	18	66
Parents				
Age in years:				
18 - 44	45	65	52 1/	72
45 and over	20	50	11	45

1/ Two homemakers, who were offspring acting as homemakers, are not included.

24/ Jasny, Marie, Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, Report No. V, Social Research Series, p. 52, June 1938.

Among the 65 families studied the average cost of clothing, $219, was 8 percent of the total value of living. The largest expenditures were for work clothes, overcoats, and footwear, the latter including both work and other shoes. An intensive study of one-third of the families indicates that these items absorbed 15, 10, and 20 percent respectively of the total expenditure (Table 18-B).

The average cost of clothing per adult male equivalent unit was $68. The husbands and wives who were less than 45 years old spent considerably more for wearing apparel than did those 45 years old and over. In general the older a child living in the home, the larger the sum needed to clothe him; but the number of cases here are not enough for plotting a cycle of clothing expenditures conforming to the life cycles of families. Large families (5 and more members) spent an average of $278 for clothing as compared with $197 for the smaller families. Among the large families, however, clothing expenditures per adult male unit were only $62, whereas among the small families they averaged $74 (Table 9).

Health, Births, and Deaths

The significance of health expenditures is difficult to determine. In certain geographical regions, group health expenditures are large because of the prevalence of sickness. In other localities health expenditures are large because money is plentiful and can be used for health facilities without causing undue financial strain. The 65 Tule Lake families expended $139 for births, maintenance of health, and burials. This sum represents 5 percent of the total value of family living in both small and large families (Table 9).

Advancement

The category entitled advancement includes contributions to churches, money spent for recreation, and all expenditures for formal education and reading materials. The average Tule Lake family spent $121 for advancement, which constituted 4 percent of its total value of family living (Table 9, p. 23). Of this, $70 went for social participation, $34 for education, and $17 for reading materials. Of the amount spent for recreation by the 20 families selected for intensive study, 14 percent went for theaters and movies (Table 18-B).

Automobiles

When the farm family rides to town on Saturday afternoon it is difficult to know to what extent the trip was made for business and to what extent for pleasure. Some members of the family may go to the movies, while others argue and gossip on the street corners. At the same time the father may be exchanging his farm products for repairs of one kind or another or for feed. Again, he may be engaging farm hands, attending to livestock sale, arranging for a new mortgage, or transacting other business. Thus it is generally hard to say what part of automobile expenses should be charged to family living and what part to farm business. 25/

25/ In this study all expenditures for trucks used for farm business, whether of the pick-up or heavier variety, have been included in farm expenses. For more detailed explanation, see Appendix. Usually in other studies, some arbitrary apportionment has been made, allocating a certain percentage of the total to each.

The average Tule Lake family spent $455 for upkeep and purchase of automobiles. If this entire sum is considered as a part of the value of family living, it constitutes 16 percent of the total. If it is assumed that only one-half of the automobile expenses should be charged to family living, these expenses would still represent a comparatively large percentage. In general, the larger the total value of family living, the larger the proportion of this living which was spent for automobiles. However, families in the highest value group did not spend a greater relative amount for automobiles than families reporting a total of $1,500 to $3,000 (Fig. 2, p. 24).

Incidentals and Other

The average expenditure for incidentals and "other" items was $351, or 12 percent of the total value of family living. Included under incidentals are the usual expenses for gifts, tobacco, candy, soda-fountain purchases, liquor, toilet articles, and personal care. These items constitute 4 percent of all family-living expenses, varying but little, proportionately, within the different value-of-living groups. Certain other expenses - travel for pleasure, specified portions of personal taxes and payments on mortgages that could be allotted to family living - were classified as "other expenditures." 26/ Among the first three value-of-living groups, disbursements for the latter purposes aggregated 1, 3, and 3 percent of the family-living budget; for the group with the highest value of living, $3,000 and over, they represented 12 percent. 27/

Cash Receipts

The average gross cash receipts of the 65 families for the year were $7,319 (Table 12). 28/ Thirty-one percent, $2,244, of the cash receipts were from borrowed sources, indicating the speculative nature of the farming enterprise. Fifty-nine percent, $4,323, accrued from the sale of farm products. Wages of the operators and other members of the family netted $396, or 5 percent of the total income. Funds from "other sources" aggregated $329. Only one of the 65 families received cash relief, and this amounted to only $73.

The average total expenditure for the group was $7,437. Farm operation, to which was allocated $4,922, or 66 percent of the total expenditure, consumed more than any other single item. This category includes the greater portion of $1,384 paid on mortgages and other indebtedness. 29/ Twice as much was expended for farm business as for family living, the latter accounting for $2,260, or 30 percent of all expenditure. Investments absorbed $255, $150 of which was

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26/ See Appendix, Methodological Note.

27/ This large amount, in both relative and absolute figures, is a result of payments on the mortgages that were so abundant in the 17 families with highest income and expenditures.

28/ The discrepancy between total receipts and expenditures is due to unavoidable error on the part of the interviewed family in estimating income and expenditures. Any schedule having a margin of error of 10 percent or more was discarded.

29/ Payments on mortgages and other indebtedness are apportioned between farm operations, rent, and "other." See Appendix, Methodological Note.

for investments in real and intangible property other than farm. Insurance payments and savings consumed $84 and $21, respectively.

Table 12.- Average amounts and percentage distribution of total cash receipts 1/ and expenditure, 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	All families	
	Average per family	Percentage distribution
Size of family in persons	3.9	-
Total cash receipts	$7,319	100.0
Sale of farm products	4,323	59.0
Wages of operator	360	4.9
Wages, other family members	36	.5
Boarders and lodgers	26	.4
Borrowed	2,244	30.7
Cash relief	1	2/
Other sources 3/	329	4.5
Funds from reserve 4/	158	-
Total cash expenditure	7,437	100.0
Family living	2,260	30.4
Farm operation	4,922	66.2
All investments	255	3.4
Funds into reserve 5/	159	-

1/ Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the standard concept of cash receipts. (See footnote 1, Table 4, p. 13.)
2/ Less than 0.1 of 1 percent.
3/ "Other sources" is composed of income from others not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business or from farm rented to others, income from monetary legacies, as gifts, interest on dividends, insurance income, net profit from personal property, and all other cash receipts of all members of the family.
4/ Funds from reserve are not actual receipts. (See footnote 3, Table 4, p. 13.)
5/ This item is not included in expenditures. (See footnote 5, Table 4, p. 13.)

Extent of Farm Operations as Related to Level of Living

Although the homesteading regulations of the project limited the families to small holdings, certain leased lands were available at a low rate. Seventeen of the families operated tracts of land varying from 100 to over 1,000 acres in size (Table 13). As a rule the larger families operated the larger acreages, thus indicating that family labor is an important factor even in large-scale commercial farming of this type. A farmer who has two sons of working age, other things being equal, is more likely to expand his operations

than a farmer with no family help. 30/

The larger the holdings of the individual operator, the larger the total value of family living was shown to be. The 21 families operating farms of less than 50 acres in extent had an average value of family living a little over one-half as large as that of the 17 families operating over 100 acres. Food, clothing, housing and maintenance, automobile, and incidentals and other were the family living categories for which expenditures were concomitantly greater for larger holdings. For 17 farmers, each of whom operated 100 acres of land or more, the category "incidentals and other" aggregated $811. Approximately $150 of this was for such items as tobacco, spending money, liquor, toilet articles, and personal care. The remaining $661 was composed largely of portions of payments on mortgages and other indebtedness that were classified as other family living expenditures.

Table 13.- Distribution of total value of family living, by size of farm, 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	Size of farm in acres							
	All		Under 50		50-100		100 and over	
	Average	Per-cent	Average	Per-cent	Average	Per-cent	Average	Per-cent
Number of families	65	-	21	-	27	-	17	-
Size of household (persons)	4.4	-	3.5	-	4.6	-	5.1	-
Total value of family living	$2,843	100	$2,212	100	$2,485	100	$4,191	100
Food	856	30	719	33	803	32	1,110	26
Housing and maintenance	702	25	527	24	566	23	1,133	27
Clothing	219	8	181	8	211	9	280	7
Health, births, deaths	139	5	164	7	132	5	120	3
Advancement	121	4	123	6	119	5	121	3
Automobile	455	16	342	15	443	18	616	15
Incidentals and other	351	12	157	7	212	8	811	19

Mobility

The group as a whole had been relatively immobile. Thirty-nine of the families reported no moves for the 5-year period, 1930-35. The proverb of the rolling stone may be applicable here. At any rate, the Tule Lake families

30/ Loomis, C. P., Family Life Cycle Analysis, Rural Sociology, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1936.

Table 14.- Total distance moved, number of miles in last move, and other selected factors in terms of number of times family has moved during 1930-35, inclusive; 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Number of moves 1930-35 inclusive	Total number of families	Total distance in miles family has moved in 5 years specified			Number of miles in last move			Selected factors in terms of mobility		
		Under 10	10-49	50 and over	Under 10	10-49	50 and over	Number of persons in family	Duration of marriage (years)	Total value of family living
Total	63 1/	1	4	19	3	4	17	3.9	15.5	$2,885
0	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	17.8	3,167
1	18	1	4	13	1	4	13	3.7	12.8	2,549
2	3	-	-	3	-	-	3	2.9	13.0	2,364
3	2	-	-	2	1	-	1	2.3	4.0	2,226
4	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	4.0	6.0	808

1/ Two cases not reported.

Table 15.- Certain factors related to value of family living, by value of living groups, 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	Number of families	Average number of moves 1930-35 inclusive	Highest grade completed		Monthly attendance at church meetings		Average number of children	
			Male head	Homemaker	Male head	Homemaker	Living	Deceased
All families	65	.5	9.9	10.3	.4	1.0	2.2	.2
Value of living groups:								
$ 500-$1,499	14	.9	8.9	8.6	.6	.8	1.8	.4
$1,500- 1,999	13	.6	8.7	10.0	.0	.5	1.9	.2
$2,000- 2,999	13	.5	10.0	10.7	.3	1.2	2.4	.0
$3,000-and over	25	.3	11.0	11.2	.5	1.4	2.5	.2

making the fewer moves in the last 5 years reported the larger total values of family living (Table 14). The range was from $808 for one tenant family that had moved four times in 5 years to an average of $3,167 for the 39 families reporting no moves for the same period. In addition to the tenant who had moved four times, two other tenants had moved three times, the two farm laborers had moved twice, and one operator who had bought a homestead also had moved twice. The 14 families with total values of family living from $500 to $1,500 had moved once. The 25 families with total values of family living of over $3,000 had made on the average 0.3 moves during the 5-year period. The older families tended to be more immobile than the younger.

Education

The families in which the parents had had greater advantages in the way of schooling usually reported higher total values of living than the families with parents of less education (Table 15). In the group of 14 families with values of living ranging from $500 to $1,499, the male head and homemaker averaged 9 grades of schooling; in families with values of living of $3,000 and over, the parents reported an average of 11 grades.

Among the 65 families there were 19 children over 15 years old who were not going to school. Eight of these had completed a full high-school course, 4 had been to college, and 1 had finished 4 years of college. None had completed less than 9 grades. If it may be assumed that these children have left school, their average educational status (11th grade) was only slightly higher than that of their parents (10th grade).

Reading Materials

Naturally these families with a relatively high educational and financial status used considerable reading material. 31/ Moreover, large-scale commercial farming requires a knowledge of prevailing market conditions as well as a familiarity with new developments in farm efficiency.

Fifty-six of the families were subscribing to some newspaper. Of this number 10 were receiving weekly papers only, 14 were receiving daily papers only, and the remaining 32 had a combination of both dailies and weeklies (Table 16).

Magazines were slightly less in evidence. Twelve of the families received no magazines, 9 received only 1, 23 families reported from 2 to 4 subscriptions, and the remaining 21 listed 4 or more.

31/ Loomis, C. P., Relation of Education Status to Certain Activities, unpublished. This report showed that educational status of North Carolina white farm parents had a significant relationship to length of time spent each week in reading.

Table 16.- Magazine and newspaper subscriptions, 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Type of subscription	All families	
	Number	Percentages
Newspapers:		
Total reporting	62 1/	100.0
None	6	9.7
1 or more weeklies only	10	16.1
1 or more dailies only	14	22.6
Combination of dailies and weeklies	32	51.6
Magazines:		
Total reporting	65	100.0
None	12	18.5
1 magazine	9	13.8
2 to 4 magazines	23	35.4
More than 4 magazines	21	32.3

1/ 3 cases not reported.

Community Participation

Few of the Tule Lake parents attended church. Those who did belonged to families that had the higher values of family living. The families in which the husbands went to church reported a total value of family living averaging $800 more than those who did not go (Table 17). The 7 heads of households who were reported as taking part in the church activities attended an average of three times a month, and the 16 homemakers who reported attendance went to church on an average of four times each month.

Although there were certain other organizations - such as the Parent-Teacher Association, Grange, and 4-H Club - the participation in them, as far as the majority of the group was concerned, was negligible. Twenty of the 52 families reporting this information listed no attendance at any organization other than church by the male head or homemaker.

Table 17.- Church attendance by parents as related to certain factors, 65 families on a Federal Reclamation project, Oregon-California, 1935

Item	Number of times in attendance monthly		
	None	1 or more	Not reported
Male parents	45	7	13
Cost of clothing	$59	$71	-
Highest grade completed	9.7	11.4	-
Value of family living	$2,630	$3,430	-
Female parents	36	16	13
Cost of clothing	$56	$84	-
Highest grade completed	9.9	11.9	-
Value of family living	$2,677	$3,128	-

Summary of this Study

(1) Sixty-five families on the Tule Lake project were interviewed. The average value of their family living was $2,843. Food was the largest item of consumption, $856, and housing and maintenance next, $702. Automobiles, after all pick-up and other trucks were eliminated, absorbed an average of $455 of the total cash expenditure. The average gross cash receipts for these 65 families amounted to $7,319. Of this, $4,323 came from the sale of farm products and $2,244 came from borrowings.

(2) The average family was composed of 3.9 persons, living in a house that averaged 4.5 rooms in size and had a replacement value of $1,794. The parents had completed an average of 10 grades each. The average schooling of the children over 6 years of age and not then going to school was slightly higher than the parents, as they had completed 11 grades.

(3) These families took small part in the social activities in their immediate communities. Church participation was reported for only 7 of the male heads and 16 of the homemakers. Participation in a non-church organization by the parents was reported for 32 of the families. In only 1 family did the offspring attend any non-church meeting.

(4) Only one family received public relief.

(5) Most cash expenditures for recreation and social participation were made in nearby towns. Although these families operate lucrative farm enterprises, their culture is, in its material aspects, unlike that found in many rural areas in the United States, being in some ways very urban. Professor Glenn A. Bakkum, Oregon State College, who was in charge of this study, made a descriptive summary of the data when he said, "In my opinion the community studied has few of the rural attributes common to other rural communities. It is rural only to the extent that the inhabitants live in the open country."

Appendix

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 18-A.- Classification employed in grouping goods and services tabulated for 11 families selected at random from 37 1/ Indian-Mexican farm-laborer families in Tortugas, New Mexico, 1935 2/

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
Total value of family living	$330.58	100.0
I. Housing and maintenance	53.11	100.0
A. Furnishings and equipment	.82	
Percent A is of I		1.5
Percent (items 1-10) of A		100.0
1. Laundry	.00	.0
2. Sewing	.02	2.4
3. Heating	.02	2.4
4. Lighting	.05	6.1
5. Kitchen and table	.05	6.1
6. Bedding and linen	.68	83.0
7. Floor and window covering	.00	.0
8. Furniture	.00	.0
9. Other	.00	.0
10. Insurance on above	.00	.0
B. Additions and alterations	.00	
Percent B is of I		.0
C. Fuel for heating and lighting (Percent of fuel furnished - 0.0)	22.16	
Percent C is of I		41.8
Percent (items 1-6) of C		100.0
1. Electricity	.00	.0
2. Coal	.86	3.9
3. Wood	9.91	44.8
4. Cash cost, procuring wood and coal	1.00	4.5
5. Gasoline, gas, kerosene	10.39	46.8
6. Other fuel	.00	.0
D. Other household expense	8.02	
Percent D is of I		15.1
Percent (items 1-6) of D		100.0
1. Telephone	.00	.0
2. Domestic help	.00	.0
3. Water bill (for household use)	.00	.0

Table 18-A. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
4. Ice (for household use)	.00	.0
5. Soap and cleanser	8.02	100.0
6. Other	.00	.0
E. Rent 3/	22.11	
Percent E is of I		41.6
Percent (items 1-3) of E		100.0
1. Rent equivalent	6.59	29.8
a. Repairs	2.64	
b. Insurance	.00	
c. Taxes, interest on mortgage on house	3.95	
2. Cash rent	7.61	34.4
3. 10.0 percent value of dwelling minus 1 and 2 (rent furnished)	7.91	35.8
II. Food	171.11	
A. Food purchased	163.29	
Percent A is of II		95.4
Percent (items 1-28) of A		100.0
1. Flour	33.82	20.7
2. Meal	2.82	1.7
3. Sugar	13.89	8.5
4. Syrup	1.77	1.1
5. Honey	.00	.0
6. Tea	.09	.1
7. Coffee	13.45	8.2
8. Poultry	.14	.1
9. Pork	4.91	3.0
10. Veal	1.52	.9
11. Beef	8.87	5.4
12. Mutton	.00	.0
13. Lard or substitute	18.45	11.3
14. Milk (whole)	12.07	7.4
15. Cream	.00	.0
16. Butter	1.18	.7
17. Oleo	.00	.0
18. Eggs	4.41	2.7
19. Potatoes	5.86	3.6
20. Other groceries	14.98	9.2
21. Sweet potatoes	.75	.5
22. Root crops	2.41	1.5
23. Pepper, dry beans	16.64	10.2
24. Greens and other vegetables	3.52	2.1
25. Fruits and others	.55	.3
26. All other fruits	.23	.2
27. Other food purchases	.00	.0
28. Meals away from home	.95	.6

Table 18-A. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Value of goods and services: Percentages
B. Food produced and consumed at home -		
If purchased 4/	$ 7.82	
If sold	5.34	
Percent B is of II		4.6
Percent (items 1-25) of B		100.0
1. Flour	.00	.0
2. Meal	.00	.0
3. Sugar	.00	.0
4. Syrup	.00	.0
5. Honey	.00	.0
6. Tea	.00	.0
7. Coffee	.00	.0
8. Poultry	6.95	89.0
9. Pork	.00	.0
10. Veal	.00	.0
11. Beef	.00	.0
12. Mutton	.00	.0
13. Lard or substitute	.00	.0
14. Milk (whole)	.00	.0
15. Cream	.00	.0
16. Butter	.00	.0
17. Oleo	.00	.0
18. Eggs	.00	.0
19. Potatoes	.00	.0
20. Other groceries	.00	.0
21. Sweet potatoes and yams	.00	.0
22. Root crops	.00	.0
23. Greens (spinach, beet and other greens, asparagus, cauliflower, cabbage, kraut (canned), celery, lettuce, green onions, radishes, dry beans, peppers, tomatoes)	.82	10.5
24. Other vegetables	.00	.0
25. Fruits	.05	.5

Table 18-A. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
III. Clothing	$ 29.36	
Percent (items 1-16) of III		100.0
1. Work clothes	8.67	29.6
2. Headwear	1.73	5.9
3. Footwear	10.05	34.2
4. Overcoats 5/	.64	2.2
5. Suits	.00	.0
6. Dresses, skirts, blouses	.82	2.8
7. Underwear	2.98	10.1
8. Shirts (dress)	.00	.0
9. Gloves, mittens	.25	.8
10. Socks, stockings	1.52	5.2
11. Personal jewelry	.00	.0
12. Accessories	.34	1.2
13. Night clothes	.00	.0
14. All other clothes	.00	.0
15. Materials, yarns, thread	2.36	8.0
16. Cleaning and repairing	.00	.0
IV. Health, births, deaths	23.23	
Percent (items 1-8) of IV		100.0
1. Doctor	13.59	58.5
2. Hospital and nurse	4.55	2.0
3. Medicine prescribed	2.00	8.6
4. Medicine unprescribed	2.64	1.4
5. Dental	.31	1.3
6. Oculist and glasses	.00	.0
7. Deaths, cemetery expenses	.14	.6
8. Other	.00	.0
V. Formal education, reading and recreation	11.42	
Percent (items 1-3) of V		100.0
1. Formal education	.00	.0
2. Reading	1.31	11.5
3. Social participation and recreation		
(a) Church expenditures	10.11	88.5
(b) Other benevolences	.00	.0
(c) Assessments, dues	.00	.0
(d) Theaters, movies	.00	.0
(e) Other types of social activity	.00	.0
(f) Other recreation	.00	.0

Table 18-A. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
VI. Automobile	$ 28.62	
VII. Incidentals and Other expenditures	13.73	
Percent (items 1-9) of VII		100.0
1. Beers, wines and hard cider	.73	6.3
Percent made at home: 0		
2. Heavy alcoholic drinks	.00	.0
Percent made at home: 0		
3. Gifts	4.55	33.1
4. Toilet articles and personal care	1.02	7.5
5. Candy, soda fountain expenditures	1.09	7.9
6. Tobacco	6.34	46.2
7. Photography	.00	.0
8. Spending money	.00	.0
9. Other	.00	.0

1/ Complete breakdown on all 37 families was not available.
2/ The schedule and instructions used in this study will be sent upon request by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. More complete itemization is available in these sources. See exposition of categories in Methodological Note.
3/ See Methodological Note for description of method of calculation.
4/ Purchased value used in computing value of family living.
5/ Two overcoats bought in the 11 families - total cost $7.

Table 18-B.- Classification employed in grouping goods and services tabulated for 20 families selected at random from 65 families 1/ on a Federal Reclamation project, Cro[illegible]n-California, 1935 2/

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Value of goods and services: Percentages
Total value of family living	$2,611.85	100.0
I. Housing and maintenance	656.75	100.0
A. Furnishings and equipment	153.68	
Percent A is of I		23.4
Percent (items 1-10) of A		100.0
1. Laundry	9.11	5.9
2. Sewing	.83	.5
3. Heating (stovepipes, etc.)	22.04	14.3
4. Lighting	3.14	2.1
5. Kitchen and table	6.86	4.5
6. Bedding and linen	9.04	5.9
7. Floor and window covering	29.65	19.3
8. Furniture	42.00	27.3
9. Other	27.02	17.6
10. Insurance on above	3.99	2.6
B. Additions and alterations	154.95	
Percent B is of I		23.7
C. Fuel for heating and lighting (Percent of fuel furnished - 0.9)	109.98	
Percent C is of I		16.7
Percent (items 1-6) of C		100.0
1. Electricity	56.90	51.7
2. Coal	8.23	7.5
3. Wood	28.38	25.8
4. Cash cost, procuring wood and coal	2.80	2.6
5. Gasoline, gas, kerosene	11.47	10.4
6. Other fuel	2.20	2.0
D. Other household expense	38.75	
Percent D is of I		5.9
Percent (items 1-6) of D		100.0
1. Telephone	11.55	29.8
2. Domestic help	3.95	10.2
3. Water bill (for household use)	.00	.0
4. Ice (for household use)	1.62	4.2
5. Soap and cleanser	20.60	53.2
6. Other	1.03	2.6

Table 18-B. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
E. Rent 3/	$ 199.39	
Percent E is of I		30.3
Percent (items 1-3) of E		100.0
1. Rent equivalent	40.48	20.3
a. Repairs	10.62	
b. Insurance	5.87	
c. Taxes, interest on mortgage on house	15.99	
2. Cash rent	4.79	2.4
3. 10.0 percent value of dwelling minus 1 and 2 (rent furnished)	154.12	77.3
II. Food	898.83	100.0
A. Food purchased	359.46	
Percent A is of II		40.0
Percent (items 1-28) of A		100.0
1. Flour	18.00	5.0
2. Meal	1.15	.3
3. Sugar	18.71	5.2
4. Syrup	2.69	.8
5. Honey	1.57	.4
6. Tea	2.90	.8
7. Coffee	10.25	2.8
8. Poultry	1.41	.4
9. Pork	5.60	1.6
10. Veal	1.80	.4
11. Beef	47.10	13.2
12. Mutton	4.85	1.3
13. Lard or substitute	6.96	1.9
14. Milk (whole)	4.08	1.2
15. Cream	1.03	.4
16. Butter	25.70	7.1
17. Oleo	.20	.1
18. Eggs	8.03	2.2
19. Potatoes	1.30	.4
20. Other groceries	68.30	19.0
21. Sweet potatoes	.18	.0
22. Root crops	1.31	.4
23. Greens	8.77	2.4
24. Other vegetables	6.21	1.7
25. Fruits and others	15.71	4.4
26. All other fruits	22.83	6.3
27. Other food purchases	27.32	7.6
28. Meals away from home	45.50	12.7

Table 18-B. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Value of goods and services: Percentages
B. Food produced and consumed at home -		
If purchased 4/	$ 539.37	
If sold	374.56	
Percent B is of II		60.0
Percent (items 1-25) of B		100.0
1. Flour	0.00	0.0
2. Meal	.00	.0
3. Sugar	.00	.0
4. Syrup	.00	.0
5. Honey	.00	.0
6. Tea	.00	.0
7. Coffee	.00	.0
8. Poultry	38.67	7.2
9. Pork	104.33	19.3
10. Veal	12.40	2.3
11. Beef	5.56	1.0
12. Mutton	16.50	3.1
13. Lard or substitute	7.73	1.4
14. Milk (whole)	179.03	33.2
15. Cream	83.05	15.4
16. Butter	18.91	3.5
17. Oleo	.00	.0
18. Eggs	37.61	7.0
19. Potatoes	8.58	1.6
20. Other groceries	.00	.0
21. Sweet potatoes and yams	.00	.0
22. Root crops	6.09	1.1
23. Greens (spinach, beet and other greens, asparagus, cauliflower, cabbage, kraut (canned), celery, lettuce, green onions, radishes, cucumbers, peppers, tomatoes)	12.04	2.2
24. Other vegetables	7.14	1.4
25. Fruits	1.73	.3

Table 18-B. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
III. Clothing	$ 250.73	
Percent (items 1-16) of III		100.0
1. Work clothes	38.30	15.3
2. Headwear	11.40	4.5
3. Footwear	49.27	19.7
4. Overcoats	25.91	10.3
5. Suits	11.55	4.6
6. Dresses, skirts, blouses	22.80	9.1
7. Underwear	23.45	9.4
8. Shirts (dress)	3.80	1.5
9. Gloves, mittens	9.04	3.6
10. Socks, stockings	21.61	8.6
11. Personal jewelry	.88	.3
12. Accessories	3.86	1.5
13. Night clothes	7.19	2.9
14. All other clothes	5.80	2.3
15. Materials, yarns, thread	3.21	1.3
16. Cleaning and repairing	12.66	5.1
IV. Health, births, deaths	112.33	
Percent (items 1-8) of IV		100.0
1. Doctor	49.45	44.0
2. Hospital and nurse	4.48	4.0
3. Medicine prescribed	16.67	14.8
4. Medicine unprescribed	18.00	16.0
5. Dental	11.28	10.0
6. Oculist and glasses	10.70	9.5
7. Deaths, cemetery expenses	1.75	1.7
8. Other	.00	.0
V. Formal education, reading and recreation	117.48	
Percent (items 1-3) of V		100.0
1. Formal education	34.46	29.3
2. Reading materials	16.52	14.1
3. Social participation and recreation:		
(a) Church expenditures	9.86	8.4
(b) Other benevolences	3.09	2.6
(c) Assessments, dues	12.01	10.2
(d) Theaters, movies	16.64	14.2
(e) Other types of social activity	7.85	6.7
(f) Other recreation	17.05	14.5

Table 18-B. (continued)

Item	Value of goods and services: Averages	Percentages
VI. Automobile 5/	$ 470.00	
VII. Incidentals and Other expenditures	105.73	
Percent (items 1-9) of VII		100.0
1. Beers, wines and hard cider	11.82	11.2
Percent made at home: 0		
2. Heavy alcoholic drinks	2.08	1.9
Percent made at home: 0		
3. Gifts	29.75	28.1
4. Toilet articles and personal care	12.47	11.8
5. Candy, soda fountain expenditures	14.43	13.6
6. Tobacco	17.00	16.1
7. Photography	1.85	1.8
8. Spending money	10.50	9.9
9. Other	5.83	5.6

1/ Complete breakdown on all 65 families not available.
2/ The schedule and instructions used in this study will be sent upon request by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. More complete itemization is available in these sources. See exposition of categories in Methodological Note.
3/ See Methodological Note for description of method of calculation.
4/ Purchased value used in computing value of family living.
5/ Nine cases not reported.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Description of Categories Constituting the Total Value of Family Living

Studies of family living are based largely upon a monetary evaluation of the goods and services consumed for family living purposes. In this report the various goods and services are grouped in seven principal categories, and a differentiation is made between those obtained by actual cash purchase and those furnished. The total value of family living is the sum of all the various items, both purchased and furnished, that are listed categorically.

Housing and Maintenance

The category, "Housing and maintenance," includes cash rent, fuel, furnishings, household operation, repairs, insurance, taxes, and interest payments on the dwelling. Most of these items have been grouped under five main subdivisions: (1) Furnishings and equipment, (2) Additions and alterations, (3) Fuel, (4) Other household expense, and (5) Rent.

Earlier studies of this sort have usually ascertained the replacement value of the house and then designated an arbitrary proportion of this value as rent furnished. Cash payments, such as those for interest on mortgages, taxes, and insurance, have not generally been considered as belonging to the category of rent. Consequently there could be no fine discrimination between the part of the value of housing that was furnished and the part that represented an actual cash expenditure.

In this report the value of rent is divided into two parts: (1) that which was furnished, and (2) that which represented a cash payment. In order to accomplish this breakdown, the item "rent equivalent" has been introduced. Rent equivalent is composed of cash payments covering interest on mortgages and property taxes as well as expenditures for repairs and insurance on the dwelling. Where a farm was concerned, interest and tax payments were often made in a lump sum for the entire farm property. Part of such a payment was obviously for the dwelling and should be considered a part of the family living, while the remaining portion should be charged to the operation of the farm. An apportionment was made, therefore, on the basis of the ratio that existed between the replacement value of the dwelling and the total value of the farm and buildings.

When actual cash payments were made by a family for use of the dwelling, these payments were designated as "cash rent." But when cash rent was paid for an entire farm with no specific amount indicated as rental for the house, this sum was also apportioned between family living and farm operation by applying the ratio just described. The amount allocated to family living was then entered as cash rent for the dwelling.

It has been assumed in making this study that 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling represents the total value of rent. Cash rent

and rent equivalent include only actual cash expenditures, and together they constitute rent purchased. Rent furnished, then, is the difference between the amount of rent purchased and the figure that represents 10 percent of the replacement value of the house. Or, in other words, rent is the sum of rent purchased (rent equivalent and cash rent) and rent furnished, and equals 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling.

Fuel consumed by the family for heating and lighting, which comprises another subdivision of the generic category "Housing and maintenance," also may have been either purchased or furnished by the farm. Cash expenditures for the purchase of fuel were recorded as "housing and maintenance purchased." The value of fuel furnished by the farm, which was determined by what the interviewed families claimed fuel would have cost had it been actually purchased, was added to the value of housing and maintenance furnished. (Fuel received as a gift was excluded from the computation.) Any cash expenditures entailed in hauling or otherwise procuring the fuel furnished were treated as an expenditure for the purchase of fuel (Tables 18-A and 18-B).

Food

Foodstuffs produced on the farm (or acquired by direct appropriation from the immediate area) and consumed at home were included in the total value of family living as food furnished. (Food received as a gift was not included.) The families interviewed were asked to estimate what these goods would have cost in local stores, and what they would have brought had they been sold. 32/ The amount for which these goods could have been sold was always estimated as less than that necessary to buy similar goods at the store. In this analysis the purchase price was used in evaluating food furnished, and the sale price was used merely as a check.

Clothing

Only actual cash expenditures for clothing were used to show the value of clothing consumed during the schedule year. Although much of the clothing for female members of the families may have been made at home, no account was taken of the value that was added by this labor (Tables 18-A and 18-B).

Health, Births, and Deaths

As in the case of clothing, only cash expenditures were enumerated. This category included expenditures for doctors' fees, hospitalization, medicines, and any services made necessary by death in the family (Tables 18-A and 18-B).

32/ Black, John D., and Zimmerman, C. C., Research in Farm Family Living, Scope and Method, Social Science Research Council, New York, April 1938, p. 13 ff.

Advancement

Any expenditures for reading material, social participation and recreation, and for formal education were classified as advancement expenditures. Again, only the actual amounts of cash expended by the family were enumerated (Tables 18-A and 18-B).

Automobiles and Truck Expenditures

In any farm family the motor vehicle, whether car or truck, serves a dual role - it aids in the farm business and provides a family conveyance. It is difficult to determine what percentage of the expenditures for the car or truck, as the case may be, should be assigned to family-living costs. Although the motor-vehicle owners interviewed in this study were asked to apportion such expenditures between the farm and family living, satisfactory data could not be obtained readily. As a result, the procedure adopted in tabulation was to consider all expenses for an automobile as chargeable to family living and all expenses for a motor truck as chargeable to farm operation. An exception to the latter statement must be noted, however. When a family owned a truck that was used for some non-farm business such as general hauling, the resultant expenses were not included in farm operation; instead, they were used in computing the net income from this non-farm business and only the final computation, entered as a part of cash receipts, appeared in the tabulation (Tables 18-A and 18-B).

Expenditures for Incidentals and for Items Classified as "Other"

Cash expenditures for articles of personal care, gifts to persons outside the family, beverages, etc., have been classified as "incidental expenditures." Personal taxes and expenditures for transportation (exclusive of travel for business purposes) are designated as "other expenditures." Any payment on the principal of a mortgage or other indebtedness, as well as the refinancing charges often incidental to these payments, were apportioned between the farm and the family living in the same manner as interest payments; hence, the amounts chargeable to family living in such instances have also been included in this category (Tables 18-A and 18-B).

Enumeration of Debts and Expenditures

In the enumeration of the value of goods and services purchased, both the amount of the total debt incurred and the amount of cash actually paid on the obligation were recorded. In the event the family made any payments on debts incurred for items bought prior to the schedule year, this amount was also recorded. But in the analysis only the actual cash outlays were used and no cognizance was taken of that part of the debts incurred for purchases of goods during the schedule year but not paid during this period. It was assumed that the amount paid on old debts would approximately balance the amount of current debts not paid during the schedule year, or carried over.